

III.—*Notice of Ancient Hindú Coins, continued from page 640. By*
JAMES PRINSEP, Secy. &c.

Plate L.—Hindú coins of middle age.

To whatever period it may be finally determined to adjudge the series of *Gupta* coins described in my last paper, there can be no hesitation in regard to the first group of the present plate; though here again, had it not been for inscriptions relating to the same period, the absence of credible history would have left us as much in the dark as ever.

These coins are found, like the former, in greatest abundance in the vicinity of *Kanouj*. Ten of them were picked out of a remittance from the Cawnpur collectory. The Asiatic Society possesses some found at Allahabad by Dr. A. TYTLER; I have several from *Azimgarh*, and other places, besides four of gold in KERÁMAT ALI's collection from the Panjáb; Col. SMITH, Dr. SWINEY, Lieut. CUNNINGHAM, also possess specimens, and I have examined those in Col. WILLOUGHBY's cabinet; but the most plentiful supply, of gold, silver, and copper exists in Col. STACY's cabinet, whence I have selected most of the specimens now engraved.

It is rather singular that no mention of a species of coin comparatively so common, is to be found in MARSDEN's *Numismata Orientalia*. The only published drawings of them are, I believe, those accompanying Mr. WILSON's notice, in the seventeenth vol. *Asiatic Researches*, which were taken from coins in his and my own cabinets. This gentleman was the first to attribute them to their rightful place in history, although he had but one well ascertained name (*Govindu Chandra*) to guide his judgment. Upon a careful examination of the several collections mentioned above, I have now succeeded in adding five new names to his list, so rapid is the progress and success of the efforts now directed to this line of research.

The figure on the obverse of all these coins is of precisely the same character;—a rudely executed front view of a male or female (it is difficult to say which), seated in the native fashion, with a glory round the head, and some unintelligible objects in her hands. Prof. WILSON names her *LAXMÍ*, on the ground that the princes of the Rahtore dynasty were of the *Vaishnaví* sect. In this case, we may recognize in her the female holding the cornucopia of the former Canouj group, sadly altered for the worse in point of execution.

The inscriptions on the reverse are, with one exception, easily legible; they are in a much more modern form of *Devanágari* than the last, differing little from the present style, except as to the vowel inflection *e*, which falls behind the consonant to which it is attached, as in

Hindu Coins-2nd Canouj Series.



the *Gaur* or *Bengálí* alphabet. The same remark applies to the letter *j* (fig. 8), which assimilates to the Bengálí and Tibetan forms, and serves admirably to shew the transition of this letter from its original shape in the most ancient alphabet where it closely resembles the Roman *E*, to its present modified form *ज*.

The figures in my plate are not placed with any regard to chronological order, but rather according to their comparative frequency of occurrence: figs. 1 and 2, being by far the most numerous of the set.

On figure 1, we make out the words श्री सदा देवदेव ॥ *Srí mad Jádjèya dèva*. This variety is comparatively common in *gold*. Lieut. CUNNINGHAM has one of silver.

On figure 2, the most common of the class, are the very distinct words श्री मद्गोविन्दचन्द्रदेव; below the letters वि and च are dots, which supply the place of the *n* or *anusvara*, so that the full reading should doubtless be श्री मद् गोविन्द चन्द्रदेव, *Srí mad Govinda Chandra dèva*; the gold of some specimens of this variety is of inferior quality.

Figure 3 is the one I have noted as being difficult so to decypher. I have as yet only found one of the sort; it is of Col. STACY'S cabinet. The letters visible are श्री मद्गोविन्दचन्द्रदेव, *Srí mad Ráma havè che nam*. The *v* may possibly be an *r*, making the reading *Ráma Hari*; but we must wait the discovery of duplicates before we can complete or rectify this uncertain name.

Fig. 4, (KERÁMAT ALI') is more easily legible, श्री मकुमरपाल देव *Srí mat Kumara Pála dèva*.

Fig. 6, from the same collection, is a small coin of the same prince.

Fig. 5, is equally distinct, श्री मन्महीपाल देव *Srí man Mahí Pála dèva*. It is from a single coin in Col. STACY'S collection.

Figs. 7 and 8, (STACY,) one of copper, the other of silver, help to decypher one another. The complete legend is श्री अजय देव *Srí Ajaya dèva*.

Lieut. CUNNINGHAM has sent me an impression of a copper coin of the same class, on which the name appears to be श्री मद्गोमी देव probably *Srí mad Laami (Pála or Chandra?) dèva*.

It was, as I have said above, the occurrence of the name of GOVINDA CHANDRA DE'VA, which led Mr. WILSON to ascribe this group to the *Ráhtore* princes of *Canouj*, who held the sceptre of that ancient city for a century prior to the overthrow of their last and best known Rája, JYCHAND (*Jaya Chandra*), by SHAHÁB-UD-DIN. One of our coins undoubtedly belongs to the former prince, and it may perhaps be allowable to give the last two, figs. 7 and 8, to JYCHAND himself, whose proper name may have been *Ajaya Chandra dèva*; the family

name *Chandra* being frequently omitted both in writings and in inscriptions. But the remaining coins of our series, two of them having the family name *Pála*, cannot be reconciled with any of the princes in the short *Ráhtore* line, of which every individual from the first conqueror CHANDRA DE'VA, in A. D. 1072, is known to us through the concurrent testimony of several inscriptions. What was the antecedent dynasty? has been a question hitherto imperfectly answered; the traditions cited by Colonel TOD being, as stated in my last paper, at total variance with inscriptions. The latter indeed only record two names, YASOVIGRAHA (or *Sripála*?) and MAHICHANDRA prior to the conquest of CHANDRA DE'VA. The latter of these should probably have been MAHIPÁLA, of whose reign in the early part of the eleventh century, the inscriptions at *Sárnáth*, *Dinájpur*, and *A'ngáchi* supply ample evidence, now indeed confirmed by the superscription of his coin in fig. 5. YASOVIGRAHA, in like manner, may be referred to the VIGRAHA-PÁLA DE'VA of the *Dinájpur* inscription, and thus the sur-name of *Pála* may be restored to both these princes.

Although *Gaur* in Bengal was the original seat of the *Pála* family, there is no reason to doubt that they had acquired the paramount sovereignty of India, and that the seat of their government was fixed for a time at least in Canouj. Indeed, branches of the same family may be traced to the westward—to the *Pálas* of *Málwa*, one of whom (ANANGAPÁLA) rebuilt Delhi, or re-established it as his capital; and perhaps even to Guzerát, where we find the occurrence of a KUMÁRA PÁLA, in 1100, who may probably be the owner of our coin, fig. 4, especially as his son is named AJAYA PÁLA, who may be the AJAYA DE'VA of figs. 7, 8. In evidence of the identity of this family, it may be sufficient to note a few facts, referring to the elaborate observations of WILFORD, and the subsequent notices of COLEBROOKE, and those of FELL, and WILSON, in the 15th volume of the Asiatic Researches.

The list of the kings of *Gualior*, noticed by WILFORD, consists of 85 names, all having the affix of *Pála*, “in accordance with the prediction of Guapála the hermit, their progenitor*.” Now the founder of the *Gaur* family of Bengal is equally a *Gopála*, though some authorities call him *Bhupála*, a name of much the same import, and denoting his rustic extraction.

Again, the grandson of ANANGAPÁLA, the *Tuár* conqueror of Delhi, is stated to have returned to *Gaur*, “his native country,” after the defeat and death of PRITHIVI PÁLA, or PITHAURA. Thus ANANGAPÁLA too was of the Bengal family: moreover he was either the grandson or the fifth in descent from *Chandra Pála*†, or *Chaitra Pála*‡, of *Málwá*,

* As. Res. ix. 154. † Ayín Akberí. ‡ WILFORD.

“who swayed all India,” after JAYANANDA: and the Musalmán writers affirm that “after *Gebál* (or *Chait Pála*), the *Balhára* kings of *Guzerát* became paramount emperors of India*.” It is not, however, absolutely necessary to travel so far to the west for a *Kumára Pála*, since in ABUL FAZL’s list we find a prince of this name immediately following ANANGAPÁLA in *Málwá*; and FERISHTA also makes a KUNWER RAY (*rāja Kumára pála*) reigning at *Canouj* on the invasion of MAHMUD. There is evidently some connection between all these different dynasties, and although the subject is now involved in almost inextricable confusion, from the discrepancy of the several lists in the *Ayín Akberí*, in RAGHUNÁTH’S *Rájavalí*, and in the *Agní Purána*, we may hope, through the fortunate discovery of the present coins, and others that we may now confidently hope will succeed them, to arrange the names in a satisfactory and coherent manner. It is evident that the *Canouj* mint produced this series continuously, as the alphabetic type is preserved through the whole unaltered. It will be seen presently that the same distinctive characters appear at a particular point, both in the coinage of *Guzerát*, and in that of *Chitor* or *Mewár*; and in both cases sufficient of the name remains visible to shew that it terminates in *Pála dēva*, and therefore, that it marks the spread and paramount sovereignty of the *Gaur* family across the whole continent of India.

Figs. 13, 14, 15, 16, are silver coins found in abundance in many parts of India, but chiefly towards the desert to the west of Delhi. Colonel STACY’S cabinet is rich in them. Mr. WILSON’S plates exhibit others from Colonel MACKENZIE’S and my own collection. They weigh on an average 50 grains, or three *massas*.

On the obverse is a figure of the boar, or the *Varáha avatár* of VISHNU, and the *chakra* or discus of this god is visible on many of the specimens. The character on the reverse is again of quite a new form. Instead of the square-built *Gaur* alphabet, or the *Gujerátí* letters, we have here the nail-headed letter common to the inscriptions of the *Takshac*, *Jit*, and *Morí* princes, of *Haravatí* and *Málwá*, described in TOD’S *Rájasthán*, App. vol. I. which belong chiefly to the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries. This vague coincidence may help in assigning the place and period of their coinage, which otherwise there are no data to trace. The full legend of the coins, made out from collation of the engraved figures and from many others in Colonel STACY’S cabinet, is श्री मदादिब-राहः *Srí mad ádi Váraha*, which is nothing more than the title of the incarnation, and affords no clue to its appropriation. Below the

* WILFORD, As. Res. ix. 164.

legend is in general visible a square or oblong central ornament, with two balusters on the sides: their intent is beyond my apprehension.

Fig. 17, differs from the preceding in the reverse, although its general similarity and its being found in company shew it to belong to the same family. The two baluster-looking ornaments again meet the eye—on the reverse is the initial word श्री *Srī*, and below it यो or पो, *yo* or *po*.

The flourish on the left hand is evidently intended for a human face viewed in profile.

In 18, the word *Srī* is again very distinct, but the head of the boar-god is also apparent. In the Society's plate, I was the cause of Mr. WILSON's mistaking the word श्री for the letter ढ reversed, from my having engraved the figure upside down.

In 19, and 20, the human profile is better defined than in 17. The contour of the ear, cheek and shoulder may be distinguished; the eye, nose, and lips, are represented by dots. In 20, the word *Srī* is still discernible.

On the reverse is a single letter, either *k*, *s*, or *m*, amidst flourishes.

In 21, the boar again appears, with the letters वह *vaha* or perhaps एक *ek*. Of this sort, a quantity were dug up while I was at Benáres, by Mr. TAYLOR, judge of *Mirzapur*, near *Sultánpur*. Mr. GUBBINS found several at *Gurgáon* to the south-west of Delhi.

It seems impossible that coins so plentifully found in Upper India should have been struck in the peninsula, or we might from the device and superscription attribute them to the *Vijyanagar* sovereignty; for Colonel WILKS informs us, that “*Varáha*, the boar, one of the incarnations of *VISHNU*, was the emblem which these rájas adopted, as the impression on their gold coins, and the coin was and is named *Varáha* in consequence, in the Hindu languages of the south.” The restriction however of this name to the small gold coins or *huns* of the south is against this hypothesis. One of the *Vijyanagar Varáhas* (of *DEVA RAYA*?) is depicted as fig. 80 of Mr. WILSON's plates; and though the attitude of the *avatár* is a rude imitation of ours, the form of the *Nágarí* character is there essentially different, and much more modern.

Similarity of name might tempt us to assign them to the *Varáhas*, a powerful Indo-Scythic tribe to the west of *Jesalmèr*, who were frequently in collision with the *Bhattis* in the eighth century, or the foundation of *Tunnote**. But it does not appear from Col. *POTTINGER*'s description of them, under the name of *Brahooes*, that these were ever

* *TOD*'s *Rájasthán*, ii. 229.

of the Hindu faith, whereas the emblem and inscription could have proceeded only from an authority strictly *Vaishnaví*.

Fig. 22, from the STACY collection, would appear to be an interloper in the Upper Provinces; since the majority of this type have hitherto been found in Ceylon, some in the palace at *Candy*, others by Colonel MCKENZIE at *Dipaldinna*. They all however belong to the genuine Hindu rajas of that island, judging from the alphabet and the name.

The rude outline on the obverse, is intended, probably, for a raja holding some mace or warlike weapon in his right hand. On the reverse he is seated in a lounging position, with a view to make room for the inscription on the side. This in the specimen before us is श्री मया त्रय मल्ल *Srí mayá traya malla*. The second word is read by MARSDEN, in a specimen very like it, दय *daya*. And on another coin he finds the name of VIJAYA विजय (मल्ल?) well known in the history of Ceylon. Mr. WILSON does not attempt to read the names on his coins, which are badly drawn; but on comparing them, they appear not essentially to differ from Colonel STACY'S. No family of the name of *Malla* occurs in the Indian genealogies except in Nípál, where, from the 13th century to the Gorkhá conquest, the reigning prince almost always bore the affix of *Malla*. In the honorable Mr. TURNOUR'S catalogue of the Ceylon monarchs, I do not find any such name.

Figs. 24 and 25, are two more modern copper pieces, selected from many of a similar nature in Colonel STACY'S cabinet, as forming a good land-mark in judging of the antiquity of other Hindu coins. The rude attempts at a human figure in 24, are far inferior to any thing we have yet seen, unless in its companion 25, where we can hardly pronounce them to be other than signs and symbols. The name and date on most of these coins are distinct enough, and in the present type of *Nágari*, श्री संग्राम सिंह १५८०, *Srí Sangráma Sínga*, 1580 (*samvat*). Sometimes the name is written संग्राम, and at others संग्राम, *Sangrama* and *Sangama*, variations to be expected in such imperfect samples of the engraver's art.

Fig. 27, is of the latter description, having the name *Sangama* preceded by the letters भक्रग. The reverse of this coin has the figure of a heart, which is very common on copper money dug up in the Ságur district, of the Muhammedan princes of the Berar provinces. Arabic letters are clearly distinguishable above the heart.

From the date of these coins, we recognize them as belonging to the celebrated SANGRÁMA SINGH, or SINKA of the Moghul historians, who for a short period successfully resisted the victorious BABER at Biána.

A romantic account of the chivalrous adventures of his youth is given by Colonel TOD*. He succeeded to the throne of *Mewár*, in S. 1565, (A. D. 1508,) and is accounted by the Rájput bards the "*kalsu*," or pinnacle of its glory. His encounter with BABER at Kanúa occurred on the 5th Kartik, S. 1584, (=15th October, 1527,) four years subsequent to the striking of these coins, which, by the way, are no very convincing evidence of the flourishing state of the arts in *Chitór* at the summit of its splendour and glory.

Fig. 26, is a small square copper coin in Colonel STACY's cabinet, also of modern fabrication; on one side inclosed in a marginal frame, which proves that the whole inscription is before us, are the Nágarí letters एक लिस *èk lis*. It may be that *lis* is the name of a coin of which the specimen represents the unit; or possibly it should be read एकालिस *ekális*, the fortieth or rather forty-first of the current silver coin of the place? The division of the field on the reverse into upper and lower compartments, so far resembles a gold coin from Canouj, described by Mr. WILSON, as fig. 52, Plate III. The letters are कभ कंली an unintelligible compound.

Fig. 28, is another rude Hindu paisa of a late period. A human figure on the obverse, holds a staff in his right hand; on the reverse are the letters व स ए स र जो *basan sar ji*, an unknown and doubtful name.

Plates XXXVI., XXXVII. Rájput Coins.

In the two following plates, I am again indebted to Colonel STACY's numismatic zeal for the greater part of a very curious series of Hindu coins, on the one hand linked by the subject of their impression with the Indo-Scythic series, and on the other gradually mixed with and transfused into the Arabic currency of the first Mohammedan conquerors of Central India.

Now that I am myself in possession of nearly 100 of these coins in silver, it appears strange that they should hitherto have escaped so completely the notice of our Indian numismatologists; neither MARSDEN, WILSON, nor TOD, having published a single engraving of them. When therefore I first received a sealing-wax impression of one from Dr. SWINEY, in August, 1833†, it is not surprising that I should have announced it as an *unique*. Colonel STACY's letters soon taught me to consider it in a very contrary light, and now on reference to Colonel TOD's personal narrative, I find that they had

* Rájasthan, i. 295.

† See Journal, Vol. II. page 416, and fig. 11, Plate XIV. of the same volume: I then supposed the coin to be of gold; it was of silver.

Ancient Hindu Coins.
Silver



Copper



not escaped him in his travels, although he has not favored the public with any drawings of them, or any comments on their age and locality.

MUNSHÍ MOHAN LÁL's collection of coins made at *Cábul*, afforded me a favorable opportunity of ascertaining the accurate names and readings of the silver group, but unfortunately these do not embrace so much variety as the copper coins. The reason for this may be, that the munshi's collection was discovered in a foreign country. A treasure accidentally dug up, however numerous, would naturally consist of the money then current, with a small admixture of that of preceding reigns: in fact, out of 100 coins, 65 belong to one type (figs. 3, 4, 5.), 25 to another (figs. 1, 2.), and only three or four to a third (figs. 6, 7.). Colonel STACY on the other hand had the advantage of exploring the very field in which they must have been at one period current, and his series is, therefore, much more complete, though rarely so numerous in any particular species. A letter from this gentleman to my address, dated 2nd August, 1834, suggests, that "as the figures both on the obverse and reverse of these coins are evidently made up of letters, either of Sanscrit or some other Hindu characters, they should be submitted to the kind attention of the professors of the Hindu college. The great variety, and the general distinctness of the characters on them, holds out fair hopes of our becoming acquainted with the dynasty they belong to, as well as with many of the individuals of that dynasty. The names placed against each by pandits, to whom they have been shewn, are worthy of no reliance. The natives possess neither enterprize nor invention; when they find a letter or letters wanting, they will not attempt to fill up the blank."

The opinion here broached, that the outline figures were made up of letters, is supported by the authority of Colonel TOD, who remarks in the only passage I can find on the subject, (vol. i. p. 698.) "My envoys brought, from *Nadolaye*, a small bag full of curious hieroglyphical (if I may so use the term) medals of the *Chohan* princes. One side represents a warrior on horseback, compounded out of a character to which I have given the above term; on some there was a bull; while others, retaining the original reverse, have on the obverse the titles of the first Islamite conquerors, in the same manner as the currency of France bears the effigies of LOUIS XVI. and the emblems of the republic. Whoever will pay a visit to *Nadolaye*, will find his labour amply rewarded; I had only leisure to glean a few of these relics, which yet formed a rich harvest."

When the singular contour of the horseman and bull is traced back to its original type in figures 1, 2, where the whole substance of the

figure is filled up, there does not seem to be much reason for imagining any intention of mystifying the device, otherwise than by the clouds of ignorance; when the engraver retained only sufficient knowledge of his craft to cut the outline of his device in relief, and latterly even seems himself to have lost sight of its meaning altogether, as in figs. 48, *cum multis aliis*;—certain it is, that the title of hieroglyphic has been earned and won for this coin even from the antiquarians of the west; witness the following highly curious passage, brought to my notice by Dr. SWINEY, in an American work on scripture geography*, applied to a wood cut of a coin in all respects the counterpart of our figure 3, which may have found its way to Egypt, in the course of commercial dealings, eight or ten centuries ago:—

“This is an extremely curious medal, of silver, struck in Egypt before the reigns of the PTOLEMIES. It represents on one side, a man on horse-back, and on the other, an ox of the humped kind lying down: between his horns is the lunar crescent, and within that is a globe. These symbols clearly refer this ox to Egypt. The man on horse-back is the most singular part of this medal; none of the countries adjacent having adopted the type of a horseman. There is every reason to believe that the letters on this medal are Persian, and that the person represented is ARYANDES, governor of Egypt under DARIUS, the last king of Persia, who then possessed this country, and who caused the governor to be put to death for coining money in his own name” †

It can hardly be believed, that the nature of the characters should have been unknown to any but Transatlantic antiquaries, for they are in a very obvious form of Deva nágarí, and may be easily read where the letters are not cut off or otherwise obliterated.

At the commencement of the foregoing essay, I alluded to this series as one of the four palpable imitations of a Grecian or Indo-Scythic model:—I had in my eye the coins of AZOS and AZILISOS in particular, which have a horseman with spear for the obverse, and a humped bull for the reverse. On being Indianized, the bull has become the *nandí* of Hindu mythology, with its ornamental *jhúl* or saddle cloth, and the trident or *tirsul* of SIVA impressed on its haunch. The horse has in like manner, received the trappings peculiar to the country, the *zèr-band* and *dúmchí*. The rider has still some traces of a flowing fillet from his cap (see fig. 5,) but his dress is not otherwise open to criticism. I would not pretend to insist upon the direct filiation of the Hindu coin to what I have assumed as its prototype: but the adoption of the same elements for the device, it may be surely contended, argues some connection or descent:—it is like the preservation of armorial insignia in a family; and on these grounds, we have pre-

* SMILEY'S Scripture Geography, Philadelphia, 1835, page 151.

† See Plates XXII. XXIII. of the June No., figs. 9, and 28.

sumptive evidence either of the Indo-Scythic descent of the reigning dynasty,—an hypothesis borne out by the traditions of many of the Rájput states,—or of a mere imitation of the coin of a neighbouring nation, in consequence of a poverty of native invention.

Before we proceed to canvas the epoch and country of this our third division of Hindu coins, which are matters entirely open at present, except so far that they have been called *Chohan* by Colonel TODD, and *Rájput* by STACY, it will be convenient to take a view of all the specimens that have been collected.

The whole series may be conveniently classed under three heads; namely, 1st, such as have genuine Hindu names and the oldest form of character; for the alphabet evidently undergoes modification as we advance:—2ndly, those with Nágari characters only, but expressive of Muhammedan names, either alone or conjointly with those of Hindu princes; and 3rdly, those retaining the equestrian device of the obverse, with also the name of the rája, but having the reverse occupied by a pure Arabic inscription.

I may premise that the average weight of the whole series of silver coins a little exceeds 50 grains, and that therefore they may be regarded as *tankas* of 3 *massas*, as was remarked of the oldest group and of the *Varáhas*.

Figs. 1, 2. These have been placed at the top of the list, because the relief in them is not confined to the mere outline. The device has already been described. There are letters on both sides of all the series, leaving us somewhat at a loss to know which side contains the rája's name, or whether the longer legend over the bull may not be merely his titles; the frequent occurrence of the *second* formula, on coins of various forms, is in favor of this view, but the actual name in the third is against it. On the present coin, the most obvious reading of the longer epigraph is श्री स्यालपति देव *Sri Syálapati dēva*. Unfortunately the letters on the other side are cut off.

Figs. 3, 4, 5. The selection here was from 65 specimens, the collation of which left no doubt as to the context, unless in regard to the value of the fourth letter. Of the two readings suggested in my first notice of this coin श्री सामग्र देव *Sri Sámagra dēva*, or श्री सामन्त देव *Sri Sámanta dēva*, the latter is the most plausible, because SÁMANTA is a common Hindu name, a leader, captain, or champion: and although the *nta* is more like गू *gú*, in the best specimens, there are other cases, such as figs. 19 and 21, where it more nearly resembles the Bengáli न्त.

On the reverse, are the letters श्री and उ, on either side of the head. These are ancient forms of भी and त *bhí* and *ta*. On fig. 4,

the latter is replaced by a non-descript flourish, so that the two are probably independent of one another in the reading.

Figs. 6 and 7, the last of the silver specimens, exhibit the cognate name of श्री भीम देव, *Srī Bhīma dēva*; and on the obverse, the श्री of the foregoing example.

Of the copper series, we may specify figs. 14, 15, 19½, 21, 27, and 30, as having the *Sámanta dēva* legend over the bull, with other additions, or variations of style, on account of which they have been introduced into the plates.

But first in order should be noticed the six small copper coins, figs. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 of Colonel STACY'S cabinet, which are connected with the present group by the effigy of the horseman; while on the opposite we recognize the latter Canouj form of letter, and the usual termination of the coins, described in the preceding plate. A scrutiny of the whole series (some not included in the plate) has elicited the letters श्री सा म . . . ल देव; the blank may be filled up with the letters *nta, pá*, making the whole title *Srī Sámanta Pála dēva*; or if it be thought that there is not room for other letters, it may stand as *Srī Sámala dēva*.

Fig. 17. Of this curious variety we have two or three samples: the bull is omitted, and the field occupied entirely by the legend. In the engraved figure, the commencement of the second line is cut off. Colonel STACY'S has a letter there, and his pandits read the whole, *Srī mam Kripa bamm bas*; but from the resemblance of the two final strokes to numerals, the appendage to the second *m*, and the analogy of the ordinary legend, I should prefer the reading श्री मन्म . थवर्म्म देव सं १ . *Srī man m . thavarmma dēva, Samvat 1 . .*, the name and the date unfortunately remaining doubtful.

Figs. 21 and 30, are duplicates: one completing the missing portion of the other impression; but owing to the strange form of two or three letters, some doubt remains as to the correct reading. On the obverse, we find आष्टक राज देव *A'prichha Rája dēva*, and on the reverse श्री समन्त देव *Srī Samanta dēva*, with the addition of असावरी *Asávári*; the last syllables, वरी, might almost be read श्री *mi* or वग *vaga*.

Fig. 27, with the *Srī Sámanta dēva* very much perverted on the bull side, has a new name on the right of the horseman, श्री दनपाल देव *Srī Dana (or data) Pála dēva*.

Fig. 28, has an unintelligible name on the bull side: the letters visible are .. श्री वदासुर, .. *Srī Vadá sura . .*

In fig. 29, the outline of the sacred bull is somewhat difficult to be traced. The name below it begins with the letters श्री कु पा . *Srī kupá*, or सा कुषा *Sá kusha . .*

Fig. 31, bears on the obverse the name of श्री हर देव *Srī Hara dēva*. The reverse seems to begin with the same letters as fig. 30, viz. अ सा *Asá*; after which follow at a short interval, . . मसाण देव. . *Masána dēva*.

It may be hereafter found that some of the above belong to what may be called the transition period, when attempts were made to express Musalmáni names and titles in the vernacular character of India, of which I will now endeavour to produce such instances as Colonel STACY'S rich collection offers.

The name of the Rájá on the obverse of all the transition or *link* coins is श्री हमीरः *Srī Hamiras*; this important and well-known name may be found, either in full or in part, on figs. 20, (in this the engraver has reversed the whole die,) 22, 36, 37, 38, 39, and 40. The same name also occurs on figs. 44, 47, and 49, with an Arabic accompaniment, as will be presently noticed.

The first example of a Moslem title in its simplest form occurs in figs. 32 and 35, in the Nágari word सुरिताण *Suritán*; this has no meaning in Hindi, and I conjecture that it is intended for the Arabic title, *Sultán*: the remainder of the sentence is in these two instances wanting.

Figs. 34, 39, 40, and 41. In these four we find a more complete paraphrase of the far sounding titles of the Delhi sovereigns; at least I conjecture that सुरिताणसा समसदौण (or as in 34, देण) is nothing more than *Sultán Sháh Shamsk ud-dín*.

Figs. 36, 37, and 38, are equally capable, and only capable, of an interpretation on the same principle: the Devanágari letters on the reverse run thus: सामहमद सामे *Sá Mahamada Sámè*, which I would convert into *Sháh Muhammed Símè*. The initial word will admit of being read *Srī*; but the rest of the legend is quite clear and satisfactory.

The name of *Hamíra*, as before stated, is repeated on the obverse of all these curious coins. We have now to trace it into a field one step farther removed from the primitive standard.

Figs. 48 and 49. In these, the first of the succeeding group in point of date, the horse and his rider, are transformed into singular symbols, which only our prior acquaintance with the original could enable us to decypher: the word श्री on the first, and the termination of *Hamirah* मीर on the other, are still discernible in their usual position. On the reverse, the characteristic style of the Afghán coinage is adopted, and the Arabic version, were it completely visible, would evidently be السطان شمش الدنيا والدین التمش *Ul Sultán Shems ul-dunya va ul-din Altamsh*. The reading commences from below.

Figs. 42 and 44, again exhibit to the right of the horse's head, the name of श्री हमीरः *Srī Hamiras*, as usual. On fig. 43, it escapes detec-

tion only by want of room on the field. In all three, the hieroglyphic which has hitherto passed for the helmeted head of the horseman, has been either designedly or unintentionally removed, and the Arabic word محمود *Mahmūd* substituted. On the other face, the full titles of this sovereign, who was the son of *Altamsh*, may be recognized without much trouble, thus:

السلطان الا
عظم ناصر الد
نیا والدین

*Ul Sultán ul A-
ázem Násir ul du-
nya va ul dín.*

the inscription terminating in the "*Mahmūd*" of the opposite face.

Fig. 25, of the preceding plate, is another coin of the same name and nature.

Fig. 47. On this variety of the *Hamíra* group, the Arabic titles are apparently السلطان فتاح الدنيا والدين *Ul Sultán Fatáh ul-dunya va ul-dín*. I only perceive one specimen of this reading in Col. STACY'S collection.

Fig. 45. The next variety of the mixed impression retains the horseman with the Hindu name, but the Arabic titles are now السلطان ابو الفتح المعظم *Ul Sultán Abu ul fateh ul Moazzem*.

Fig. 24, is the last on the list, exhibiting the semblance of a horseman. The small portion of the Arabic legend, included on the reverse, is fortunately sufficient to point out the owner, and enable us to complete it السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين *Ul Sultán ul áázem Ala ul dunya va ul dín*, (*Muhammed Sháh*.)

Figs. 23 and 46. There still remains undescribed a curious variety of the "bull and horseman" coin, in which the bull side is retained with the *Srí Samanta dèva*; while, contrary to usage, the horse is omitted, or replaced by an Arabic legend in the connected or flowing character. The whole purport of it is not well ascertained, but the legible portion of the two middle lines is thus read by some السلطان الاعظم عدل *Ul Sultán ul áázem, ul Sultán Adil*. . Others find in it the name of *Subactegín*; and I am inclined to adjudge it rather to an earlier period than the *Ghóri* dynasty, both from the Arabic style, and from the retention of the name of *Sámanta dèva* on the reverse.

Figs. 26 and 50. We now pass to a new form of coin, allied to the foregoing, indeed, by the retention of *Hindí* on one side, but differing from them in the total rejection of the pictorial emblems. That the proper orthography of the word *Sultán* was now attained is evident in the initial letters श्री सुतना. *Srí Sultá*. . The lower line presents three letters मव्वज *mavvaj*, which may be intended for *moazz*, thus agreeing with the Arabic of the opposite face الاعظم معز الدنيا والدين السلطان *Ul Sultán ul áázem moaz ul dunya va ul dín* (either *Bairam*

Sháh, 1239, or *Kai Kobad*, 1286?) the only two emperors which bore the appellation of *Moaz ul-dín*.

From the last coin, the passage is easy to those of purely Muhammedan aspect, such as are described in MARSDEN'S *Numismata*, vol. ii.; but this author does not appear to have had an opportunity of examining an intermediate group of coins, on which, in deference to the conquered people, a Nágari inscription was retained on the margin.

They are by no means uncommon; yet it is rare to find the marginal legend perfect. MARSDEN'S DCCXIII., of *Toghlak Sháh*, is of this species; but in it the Nágari falls beyond the limits of the disc.

I have therefore thought that a few examples of this group might form a proper appendage to the present series, and have accordingly introduced three varieties from Colonel STACY'S and my own collections, to fill up the plate.

Fig. 51, the earliest in date, must be read from the reverse *السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين بلبن* *Ul Sultán ul ážem Ghiás ul dunya va ul-dín*, (and in the centre of the obverse,) *Balban*; the latter is encircled by a Nágari sentence, of which श्री सुलतान... is visible.

Figs. 54, 55, and 56, are coins of the celebrated ALAUDDIN*, the disposition of the titles and name as before *الدنيا والدين محمد شاه السلطان علا* *Ul Sultán Alu ul dunya va ul-dín Muhammed Sháh*. On the margin, श्री सुलतानशा ७०६ *Srí Sultán Sháh*, (A. H.) 706.

Figs. 52 and 53, close our present series; they bear the titular designations of TOGHLAK SH'AH, *الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين تغلق شاه السلطان* *Ul Sultán ul ážem Ghiás ul dunya va ul-dín, Toghlak Sháh*. The Nágari of the margin is similar to the last, but imperfect, as if cut by one ignorant of the language.

After the complete and satisfactory evidence we have just examined, little need be said as to the epoch to which at least the mixed or Hindu-Muhammedan portion of the bull and horseman group belongs: for, from the names inscribed in Nágari or Arabic, or from the titles or cognomina, which are in fact as frequently the names by which the Musalmán sovereigns are known, we can nearly fill up the first century of the Patán monarchs of Delhi, thus:

Srí Muhammed Sáme is, I presume, MUHAMMED BIN SÁMUL GHORI, the first of the dynasty, commonly known by his cognomen *Shaháb-ul-dín*, who possessed himself of the throne of Delhi, A. H. 588, A. D. 1192.

Shamsh ul-dín, in Nágari and Arabic, is *Altamsh*, A. H. 607 A. D. 1210
Moaz ul-dín, must be BAIRAM SHÁH, his son, 637 1239

* At the time of engraving the plate, I mistook the MUHAMMED SHA'H for the son of TOGHLAK: the date corrects me.

<i>Alá ul-din</i> , may be MASAUD, the son of FIROZ, A. H. 640 A. D. 1242		
<i>Násir ul-dín</i> , denotes MAHMUD, son of ALTAMSH,	643	1245
<i>Ghiás ul-din</i> , BALBAN, has the full name also,	664	1265
<i>Alá ul-din</i> , MUHAMMED SHÁH, bears its own date,	695	1295
<i>Ghiás ul-din</i> , TOGHLAK SHÁH, cannot be mistaken,	721	1321

It is not from these names, however, but rather from the Hindu ones, that we must seek to fix the *locality* of the *bull* and *horseman* insignia, and the readiest mode of arriving at the truth is to proceed backwards, the best chance of verifying the names of Rájás being through their preservation, even in a corrupt form, in the pages of Moslem history. HAMIRAS, the name common to so many of the series, is admirably adapted for our purpose. He can be no other than the HAMIR* of the *Mewár* chronicles, who, born and nurtured in the forests of *Ondwa*, was destined to revive the glory of *Chitór*, even after it had succumbed to two successive assaults under the unsparring ALLA. We find it recorded in FERISHTÁ's history, (A. D. 1304,) that "at length finding it of no use to retain *Chitór*, the king ordered the Prince KHIZR KHÁN to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew of the Rája. This Hindu Prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of *Chitór* as tributary to ALLA-UD-DIN, during the rest of his reign†." According to TOD‡, "HAMIR succeeded to the throne in Samvat 1357, (A. D. 1300,) and had sixty-four years to redeem his country from the ruins of the past century, which period had elapsed since India ceased to own the paramount sway of her native princes." These 64 years would include nearly the whole reign of ALLA I., and that of his successors OMAR, MUBÁRIK, KHOSRU, TOGHLAK, his son MUHAMMED, and FIROZ. On the coins themselves, we have found the obverse of HAMIRA coupled with the stamp of *Mahamad Sámè*, *Shams ul-dín*, *Alla ul-dín*, *Násir ul-dín*, and *Fatáh ul-dín*; three of whom are clearly anterior to the reign of ALA-UD-DIN; as ALTAMSH alone bore the cognomen of *Shamsh ul-dín*; his son that of *Násir ul-dín*; and MAHAMMED GHORÍ that of *Sámè*. We might indeed read the latter word *Súni*, and so apply it and the title of *Násir ul-dín* to MUHAMMED II. the son of TOGHLAK, whose cognomen is not recorded. But still *Shamsh ul-dín* remains unexplained, and the apparent anachronism cannot be accounted for. It should be noted that the name of HAMIR is not mentioned in FERISHTA; but only the "nephew of the Rája Ratan Sinh." The cognomen *Fatáh ul-dín* is not to be found in the whole line of the *Patán* Sultáns.

* *Humberdew* of BRIGG's *Ferishta*, *Amir deo* of Dow, when speaking of the siege of Rintimpore: he is not mentioned afterwards by name, nor as of *Mewár*.

† BRIGG's *Ferishta*, i. 363.

‡ *Rájasthán*, i. 269.

Mewár had been in subjection to the Delhi monarchs since the invasions of MUHAMMED GHORI; ALTAMSH also invaded it in 1210: hence there can be the less doubt that the barbarized names, *Srí Mahamad Síme* and *Srí Samasoden*, on the indigenous coinage applied to these two sovereigns, notwithstanding the difficulty above alluded to.

The fortunate preservation of HAMIRA's name, in conjunction with those of his allies, upon these coins, proves at any rate the identical place of their coinage, and fixes it at *Chitór*, the seat of the dynasty founded by BAPPA, in A. D. 727, after the destruction of the *Balhára* monarchy of *Sauráshtra*. This information also limits our search for the names previous to *Hamira*, to the descendants of BAPPA RÁWEL, of whom two or three genealogical lists have been preserved in various inscriptions, some decyphered and explained by Mr. WILSON, in the *As. Researches*, vol. xv., and others by Colonel TOD. The latter authority enjoyed the advantage of filling up the history of *Mewár* from the national poems and traditions of the place; but it must be confessed, as strangely perplexing, that the names of the immediate predecessors of HAMIRA should be at total variance in the Hindu and the Muhammedan accounts. Thus, FERISHTA makes RAY RÁTAN SE'N the Rája of *Chitór*, who was taken prisoner at the sack of the fort, and who escaped through a romantic stratagem of his daughter, and continued to ravage the country until his nephew was installed as above stated in the masnad. Colonel TOD makes the name of the imprisoned Rája, BHÍMSI, and that of his daughter, PADMANÍ. The circumstances which led to the admission of the fair heroine into the hostile camp with her 700 litters, each freighted like the Trojan horse, are also differently related by the two authors. It will be a strong motive for the preference of the Hindu account, if the BHIMA DE'VA of our coins can be identified with this BHÍMSI (*Bhima sinha*): but the short interval from his return to *Chitór* to the death of himself and his family in the sack which followed, would hardly allow the issue of a regular coinage in his name at such a turbulent period. The style also of the Nágari alphabet (the ढ *bh* especially) differs materially from that of HAMIRÁ's name. Yet there is no other *Bhíma* in the *Mewár* list. FERISHTA mentions one (*Bhim-dew*) as the brother of SHUNKUL DEW, the Prince of *Deogir*, contemporaneous with ALLA; but he does not seem to have attained the throne. In the collateral line of the *Gujerát* Rájas, the same name occurs thrice, the last in 1209, of whom the Moslem histories make frequent mention; but the insignia of this *Ráj* are of a distinct character, and will not admit of our transferring the bull and horseman device thither for an owner*.

* BHIMA DE'VA of *Gujerát* was defeated by MUHAMMED GHÓRI' (or *Sámè*?) in A. D. 1178.

It provokingly happens that the nine rájas immediately preceding BHÍMSI, in TOD's list, are omitted as an uninteresting string of names ; thus shutting out a chance of recognizing many of the petty names of our coin list. We must in consequence pass over *Dánapála dēva*, *Kripá*, *Vadásur*, &c. and retrograde to *Sámanta dēva*. This name is one of those on the inscriptions from mount *Abu (Arbuda)**, the 18th of the *Guhila* family, to whom an actual date is also assigned, namely A. D. 1209. The objection to this is, like that to *Bhíma*, that the date is too modern for the alphabetical type ; moreover, from TOD we learn, that it was RAHUP of *Mewár* who was attacked by SHEMSH UL-DÍN (*Altamsh*), in 1210-20, and this name we have recognized in the more modern *Nágari* on several of the horseman coins.

There are other *Sámanta (Sinha) dēvas* in the *Anhulwára* line of *Gujerát* of an earlier period, both in the *Ayin Akberí*, and in the native chronicles ; indeed, BANARÁJA himself, the founder of the *Chohán* race at *Anhulpur*, was the son of a SÁMANTA SINHA, fixed by TOD in A. D. 745 : and it is worthy of particular note, that the first prince restored to the *Gujerát* throne, near two centuries after the overthrow of the *Balháras* by the *Parthians*, is called in the *Ayin Akberí*, "SAILA DE'VA, who was previously living in retirement at *Ujjain* in A. D. 696." Now the name on the coin which I have assumed as the most ancient of the series, and therefore placed at the top of Plate XVI., is SYALAPATI DE'VA, a name apparently taken from the country where he ruled † ; but which might easily be converted, either with or without intention, into S'AILA DE'VA, a title denoting dominion or birth among the mountains.

In conclusion, it should be borne in mind, that both the *Mewár* and the *Gujerat* lines are of one family, that of the *Gehlote* or *Sesodia* tribe, to which, though arrogating to itself a descent from the Sun, the *Persian* historians uniformly ascribe a *Parthian* origin. May not this be received as a good foundation for the *Indo-Scythic* device on their coinage ; or on the other hand does not the latter fact, supported by historical tradition, go far towards the corroboration of the extra Indian origin of the *Mewár* dynasty ?

Plate XLIX. Sauráshtra Coins.

In antiquity the present series doubtless should take precedence of those depicted in the three last plates ; perhaps it should rank next to the *Behat* or *Buddhist* group, for it has an important symbol in common with them. My only reason for delaying to notice it until the last, has been the hopes of receiving a further accession of

* As. Res. vol. xvi. page 322.

† *Syalakoth*, the fort of *Syála* near the *Indus*, was once attacked by the armies of *Mewár*.